

846 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
 [842] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the
 child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened
 to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
 553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is
 changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the
 bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the
 same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
 582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already de-
 termined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband
 • 587 dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take
 her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
 [582] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage,
 for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
 734 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons
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*The hopelessly degenerate Camés, Voturões,
 Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of
 whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals
 left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.)
 Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV.
 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do
 this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a
 service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
 [101] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tame-
 puyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to
 this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old peo-
 ple" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
 764 mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and
 [302] by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside
 the hut in a hammock. Then drinking feasts are held in honor of the
 deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The
 [775] Mundurucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of
 000 the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucu* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads.

The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting,

¹[Martius (source No. 3) says this occurred before hand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

614 that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as [423] such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The [582] only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage [586] with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

614 The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these 616 patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superseded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan [835] and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. [587] Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a [582] desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tubö*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.² This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tubö* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

614 The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú 713 informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibö, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *diwai*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *diwai* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudiwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

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good taste and decency, although the seriousness of the delict depends on distance of relationship in the paternal line. Thus, incest within the nuclear family is considered absolutely unthinkable by the Mundurucú, but they frown in decreasing degree upon sexual relations within clan, phratry, and moiety. There is no defined punishment, however, for incest with any category of relative; the Mundurucú say only that people would be "ashamed" to commit such a breach. 835

In a society in which all people are believed to be related, moiety exogamy implies that any union with a person of the same generation and of the opposite group will be with a cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. Marriage with first degree cross-cousins is said by the Mundurucú to have been a highly preferred union at some time in the past, and it is still regarded as a most suitable match. I found only three cross-cousin marriages during the course of my field work, however, and it no longer occurs frequently. The levirate and sororate are, of course, permissible within the moiety system and occasionally occur, but persons are not and, within the memory of informants, were not formerly under any compulsion to enter such a marriage. Martius's report of the levirate suggests that it may have been more prevalent during the period when patrilocality was still the residence rule. The levirate is a simple recognition of the right of the man's kin group, as a whole, to the woman. It may be hypothesized that the fractionation of the sibling group after the change to matrilocality dispersed the unit that formerly exercised corporate rights over the girl and made the levirate unworkable. And, since levirite marriages are frequently polygynous, matrilocality imposed the same inhibitions as discussed above. 582
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¹⁸ Martius, 1867, p. 393. 587
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